

## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, NAC, PORG

SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT - ASSESSMENT AND SUMMARY

SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT AND SUMMARY OF THE  
MAY 30-31 NATO SUMMIT IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR GUIDANCE.  
ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW UPON IT AS APPROPRIATE.

1. ASSESSMENT. IN OUR VIEW, THE NATO SUMMIT WAS SUCCESS-  
FUL IN DEMONSTRATING:

-- THE VITALITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF  
CONSULTATION IN THE NATO FORUM.  
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-- ALLIED UNITY OF PURPOSE AND ACTION, AS WELL AS CONFIDENCE  
IN MEETING THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY CHALLENGES OF THE  
FUTURE.

-- STABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP  
IN ALLIANCE MATTERS AND IN THE CONDUCT OF ALLIANCE RELA-  
TIONS WHICH THE ALLIES WANT.

-- OUR DESIRE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT EUROPEAN CONCERNS.

-- UNSWERVING US COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF EUROPE IN TERMS OF STRATEGY, DOCTRINE AND FORCE POSTURE FOR THE ENTIRE TRIAD OF NATO FORCES.

-- THE READINESS OF EUROPEANS TO IMPROVE THEIR DEFENSES IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE US AND TO BEAR THEIR FAIR SHARE OF THE DEFENSE BURDEN.

-- THE IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE TRADITIONAL TREATY AREA.

-- THE CONTINUITY OF ALLIED EFFORTS AS REPRESENTED BY:

- THE AGREEMENT ON A LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM THAT COORDINATE NATO DEFENSE PLANNING MUCH MORE CLOSELY, CONCENTRATING ON 10 HIGH PRIORITY AREAS, AND WILL PROJECT NATO PLANNING OVER THE NEXT 15 YEARS

- THE YEAR-LONG STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS

- REAFFIRMATION OF THE THREE PERCENT GOAL IN DEFENSE BUDGET INCREASES  
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- DEVELOPMENT OF IMPROVED COOPERATION IN ALLIANCE ARMS DEVELOPMENT AND PROCUREMENT TO ACHIEVE MORE EFFECTIVE NATO FORCES.

2. FUTURE TASKS. IN THE COMING MONTHS, THE ALLIANCE WILL BUILD UPON THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE SUMMIT AND WORK TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM GENERATED THERE. IN PARTICULAR, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO

-- PUSH STRONGLY FOR RAPID AND VIGOROUS FOLLOW-THROUGH ON THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

-- USE THE BASIS PROVIDED BY EAST-WEST STUDY TO INTENSIFY CONSULTATIONS AT NATO IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE ITS ROLE AS THE FORUM FOR THE DISCUSSION OF EAST-WEST ISSUES, INCLUDING DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA (E.G., AFRICA), AND TO DEVELOP FURTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR CON-  
CRETE PROGRESS IN DETENTE,

-- PRESS IEPG TO AGREE TO A BROADER TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE, CONTINUE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATO LONG-RANGE ARMS PLANNING SYSTEM, AND MOVE AHEAD WITH COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS IDENTIFIED BY THE LTDP.

-- CONSULT REGULARLY ON THE PROGRESS OF SALT AND OTHER ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

-- MAINTAIN NATO AS THE CENTER OF ALLIED CSCE ACTIVITIES

(ALTHOUGH IN CONJUNCTION WITH EC-9 EFFORTS).

3. GENERAL SUMMARY. THE FIFTH NATO SUMMIT IN 29 YEARS TOOK PLACE IN WASHINGTON ON MAY 30-31. TWO CHIEFS OF STATE (PRESIDENT CARTER AND PRESIDENT EANES OF PORTUGAL) AND TWELVE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATED. FRANCE WAS REPRESENTED BY ITS FOREIGN MINISTER. ALL FIFTEEN ALLIES PARTICIPATED IN THE DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL ISSUES. FRANCE AND GREECE DID NOT TAKE PART ON THE MORNING Y 31 WHEN THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM WAS DISCUSSED.

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4. THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR THE SUMMIT WAS TO REVIEW THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY CHALLENGES THAT WILL FACE THE ALLIES IN THE NEXT DECADE AND TO TAKE NECESSARY STEPS TO MEET THOSE CHALLENGES. THE CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF THE SUMMIT WAS TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE INITIATIVES PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT AND ADOPTED BY THE ALLIES AT THE LONDON SUMMIT IN MAY 1977: THE EAST-WEST STUDY, THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM, AND IMPROVED NATO ARMAMENTS COOPERATION.

5. AN UNUSUAL FEATURE OF THIS SUMMIT WAS THE PARTICIPATION OF DEFENSE MINISTERS AND THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN THE DISCUSSION OF NATO DEFENSE ISSUES. THE SUMMIT WAS MARKED BY AN UNUSUAL AMOUNT OF TIME DEVOTED TO FREE-RANGING DISCUSSION AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS, BOTH IN THE SUMMIT SESSIONS THEMSELVES, AND IN THE SURROUNDING EVENTS, ESPECIALLY THE PRESIDENT'S MAY 30 LUNCHEON FOR NATO SECRETARY-GENERAL LUNS AND HEADS OF DELEGATION ONLY.

6. EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE ALLIES DISCUSSED HOW THE ALLIANCE SHOULD COPE WITH THE CONTINUING EXCESSIVE BUILD-UP OF WARSAW PACT FORCES IN EUROPE AND WITH THE INCREASING PROJECTION OF SOVIET POWER OUTSIDE EUROPE. IT WAS CLEAR FROM SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS THAT THE ALLIES EXPECT NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE SOVIET UNION'S INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL POLICIES. THE ALLIES GENERALLY AGREE THAT THE

SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE STRIVING TO ENHANCE ITS MILITARY POWER, TO EXPAND ITS INFLUENCE, AND TO UNDERMINE WESTERN SOLIDARITY.

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7. THE DISCUSSION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS RESULTED IN WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO MAINTAIN A STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE WHICH WOULD PERMIT FURTHER EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND TO PURSUE REALISTIC ARMS-CONTROL MEASURES. THE ALLIES REAFFIRMED THEIR DESIRE FOR LOWER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES IN BOTH EAST AND

WEST, WHILE MAINTAINING IMPROVING ALLIED SECURITY.

8. DEFENSE ISSUES. THE ALLIES PARTICIPATING IN NATO'S INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE AGREED THAT CURRENT TRENDS IN THE MILITARY BALANCE -- WHICH IN THE CONVENTIONAL AREA ARE MOVING TO NATO'S DISADVANTAGE -- COULD, IF LEFT UNCHECKED, UNDERMINE DETERRENCE AND STABILITY. THESE ALLIES AGREED THAT NATO MUST TAKE NECESSARY STEPS TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE DETERRENT AND DEFENSE POSTURE, WHILE CONTINUING TO SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF FORWARD DEFENSE BASED ON ADEQUATE CONVENTIONAL, THEATER NUCLEAR AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES.

9. TO FULFILL THESE OBJECTIVES, THE ALLIES ADOPTED THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP). ADOPTION OF THE LTDP AS A PLAN FOR NATO DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS AND INCREASED COOPERATION IN THE LONG TERM MARKS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD FOR DEFENSE PLANNING. THIS BOLD AND COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD STRENGTHENING ALLIANCE COHESION AND COUNTERING THE FUTURE MILITARY THREAT TO NATO. THE LTDP - ADDRESSES TEN PRIORITY AREAS:-- READINESS; REINFORCEMENT; RESERVE MOBILIZATION; MARITIME POSTURE; AIR DEFENSE; COMMUNICATION, COMMAND AND CONTROL; ELECTRONIC WARFARE; LOGISTICS; RATIONALIZATION AND THEATRE NUCLEAR FORCES. THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES, IN APPROVING THE LTDP AS A COURSE OF ACTION, PLEDGED THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR THE INTENSIVE CIVIL AND MILITARY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS NEEDED AT NATIONAL AND NATO LEVEL TO INSURE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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VIGOROUS AND SUSTAINED FOLLOW-THROUGH THAT WILL BE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THE LTDP'S PURPOSE.

10. SALT. PRESIDENT CARTER REVIEWED THE STATE OF THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND REPORTED ON THE TALKS WITH GROMYKO. THE ALLIES EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE US EFFORTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, REAFFIRMED THEIR INTEREST IN CONCLUSION OF A SALT TREATY WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT EUROPEAN CONCERNS,

AND EXPRESSED INTEREST IN HOW TO PROCEED ONCE SALT II WAS CONCLUDED.

11. MBFHE ALLIES AGREED THAT THE WESTERN INITIATIVE PUT FORWARD APRIL 19 IN VIENNA PROVIDED A STRONG IMPETUS TO CONCLUSION OF AN MBFR AGREEMENT AND THAT THEY SHOULD NOW AWAIT A CONSTRUCTIVE EASTERN RESPONSE. THEY ALSO AGREED TO PROPOSE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS BE RAISED TO THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL IF SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WERE MADE FIRST, AND IF THE PARTICIPATION OF MINISTERS COULD CONTRIBUTE CONSTRUCTIVELY TO EARLY CONCLUSION OF A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT.

12. ERW. SUBJECT WAS ONLY BRIEFLY DISCUSSED. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE ALLIES SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO DEFER PRODUCTION OF ERW, AND THAT THE ULTIMATE DECISION SHOULD BE INFLUENCED BY THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE SOVIETS SHOW RESTRAINT IN ITS ARMS PROGRAMS AND FORCE DEPLOYMENTS AFFECTING WESTERN EUROPE.

13. AFRICA. DURING THE TWO DAYS, THE SUBJECT OF SOVIET/ CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA AROSE AT DIFFERENT TIMES IN VARIOUS GATHERINGS. THE DISCUSSIONS WERE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, NOT AN ATTEMPT TO REACH CONSENSUS .

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THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES CANNOT IGNORE MILITARY AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN AFRICA AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION BENEFITS FROM AFRICAN INSTABILITY. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE WAS REALIZATION THAT THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA ARE VERY COMPLEX AND GO DEEPER THAN MERELY EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES. IN GENERAL THE ALLIES BELIEVED THAT THERE MUST BE AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS, AND THAT THESE SOLUTIONS SHOULD BE PEACEFUL, NOT MILITARY. THE ALLIES ALSO FAVORED PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS LEST THEY SERVE TO CREATE FURTHER UNREST AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXPLOITATION.

14. CSCE. THE ALLIES AGREED THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES WILL CONTINUE TO TRY PURSUING DETENTE ON A SELECTIVE BASIS. IT WAS EXPECTED THAT THEY WOULD THEREFORE CONTINUE TO DOWNPLAY THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS OF CSCE. THE ALLIES RECOGNIZED NEED TO PUSH THE EAST TOWARDS BETTER IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL CONTACTS. THEY REAFFIRMED THEIR BELIEF THAT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY IMPROVEMENTS IN THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS. THEY RESTATED THEIR POSITION THAT THE PERSECUTION OR

HARASSMENT OF CSCE "MONITORS" WAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE FINAL ACT. AT THE SAME TIME THE ALLIES AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD MAINTAIN THEIR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE EAST IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE THOSE COUNTRIES TO ADOPT AN INCREASINGLY RESPONSIBLE AND MODERATE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OUTSIDE WORLD. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT EACH ALLY WOULD PLAY ITS FULL PART IN THIS PROCESS WITH THE FREEDOM OF ACTION AND DECISION WHICH CHARACTERIZE MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE.

15. THE MIDDLE EAST. THE MIDDLE EAST WAS ONLY BRIEFLY TOUCHED UPON, AND THE HOPE WAS EXPRESSED THAT EFFORTS WOULD CONTINUE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

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16. GREECE-TURKEY. THE GREECE-TURKEY DIFFERENCES AROSE PRINCIPALLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DISCUSSION OF COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE THAT WOULD HAVE URGED REPEAL OF THE US EMBARGO ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY. THE TWO DELEGATIONS MADE THEIR CONCERNS KNOWN IN A STATESMANLIKE MANNER. THE LEADERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY AGREED ON THE NEED TO RESOLVE THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND INDICATED A WILL TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THOSE PROBLEMS, ALTHOUGH THE PROCESS MAY BE LENGTHY. THE ALLIES STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO STRENGTHENING THE COHESION AND SOLIDARITY ON THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK, AND THE PRESIDENT COMMITTED HIMSELF TO PRESS CONGRESS TO REPEAL THE EMBARGO ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY.

17. SPAIN AND NATO. SPAIN'S FUTURE RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO AROSE ONLY BRIEFLY. THE ALLIES (AND PORTUGAL ESPECIALLY) MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY LOOKED WITH FAVOR UPON SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, BUT THAT THE DECISION MUST BE SPAIN'S.

18. SSOD. THE ALLIES NOTED THAT THE GOALS OF THE NATO MEETING AND THE UN SSOD WERE COMPATIBLE, FOR THE KEY TO PURSUING REALISTIC DISARMAMENT MEASURES IS A BALANCE OF FORCES: THE CAUSE OF DISARMAMENT IS NOT SERVED IF THE BALANCE IS TIPPED.

19. IMPROVED COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND PROCUREMENT OF ALLIANCE DEFENSE EQUIPMENT. THE

MINISTERS APPROVED CNAD REPORT WHICH CALLED ATTENTION TO PROGRESS IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS. THE ALLIES NOTED THAT THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE ON IMPROVED CONFIDENTIAL

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NATO ARMAMENTS COOPERATION WAS UNDERWAY, BUT IT WAS CLEAR IN THE FRENCH VIEW THAT PROGRESS WILL BE SLOW. THE FRENCH INSISTED THAT NATO ARMS COOPERATION MIGHT PROCEED IN A WAY SO AS NOT TO JEOPARDIZE EUROPEAN R AND D CAPABILITY. FRENCH DO NOT WANT TO ENGAGE IN A WIDENED TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. AT THE SAME TIME, NATO ALLIES WILL CONTINUE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATO LONG-RANGE ARMAMENTS PLANNING SYSTEM AND COMMON PROGRAMS WHERE POSSIBLE.

20. ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS WERE AN IMPORTANT THEME THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSIONS. THE ALLIES RECOGNIZED THAT SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH WOULD BE IMPORTANT IF ALL THE ALLIES WERE GOING TO MEET THEIR DEFENSE COMMITMENTS AND THE EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR PEOPLE. SYG LUNS WAS CHARGED WITH CONDUCTING A STUDY ON HOW THE ALLIED NATIONS MIGHT AID THE ECONOMIES OF ALLIES WHOSE ECONOMIES WERE SERI-

OUSLY LAGGING. THE ALLIES ALSO EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD.  
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